1: Karsten--217-218 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 842, 775 (1928-29)

"The ideas which the Indians entertain about the physiological significance of the sexual act are of particular interest and it may be proper to mention them here. The Indians certainly realize, in a general way the connection between sexual intercourse and pregnancy, but about generation and conception they have their own peculiar theory which among other things appears in their belief in a 'supernatural' birth. Their ideas of animal and plant spirits who partake of the nature of human souls and are even regarded as the souls of ancestors, as well as their custom of naming newborn children after animals and plants and at the same time after ancestors, seems to point to a general belief, now perhaps half forgotten, in the return of departed souls through a new birth. In fact, traces of the existence of a belief in such a rebirth are still to be found. 'After a long time the souls of the dead are again reborn in some of their descendants; this is the reason why we give to a newborn child the [218] name of one of its forefathers.' Such was the explanation which was given me by an old medicine-man with whom I discussed these questions. Other Jibaros again assured that they did not know anything about the rebirth of the departed. Evidently these are questions to which common people in the Jibaro society, and especially younger persons, devote but little thought."

1: Karsten--253 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
775 (1928-29)

"....the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians believe that old men may, after death or even in their lifetime, appear in the shape of jaguars, anacondas, or other formidable or dangerous animals and in this disguise punish their relatives for neglect of duty. --The peculiar view that the Jibaros have about old men will be referred to again in connection with their war chiefs."

1: Karsten--271-272 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775, 152, 627, 577 (1928-29)

"The Jibaro Indian is wholly penetrated by the idea of retaliation; his desire for revenge is an expression of his sense of justice. His great principle is eye for eye, tooth for tooth, life for life. If one reprehends a Jibaro because he has killed an enemy, his answer is generally: 'He has killed himself'. But blood-revenge among these Indians is not merely owing to moral or ethical, but also to religious reasons. The soul of the murdered Indian requires that his relatives shall avenge his death. The errant spirit, which gets no rest, visits his sons, his brothers, his father, in dreams, and weeping conjures them not to let the slayer escape [272] but to wreak vengeance upon him for the life he has taken. If they omit to fulfil this duty the anger of the vengeful spirit may turn against themselves. To avenge the blood of a murdered father, brother, or son, is therefore looked upon as one of the most sacred duties of a Jibaro Indian. The expression which the Jibaros use for this is ayambruamáktinyu (in Quichua randipáshca) which means 'to avenge the blood of a murdered relation'. It may happen that a Jibaro keeps the thought of revenge in his mind for years, even for decades, waiting for the opportunity to carry it out, but he never gives it up. A man has perhaps been murdered while his sons were still small, and he has perhaps lacked brothers or other male relatives who were able to revenge his death. As soon as the sons become full-grown they know what their duty toward their murdered father requires of them. However, in such cases it sometimes occurs that the affair is settled

in a peaceful way. The sons of the murdered Indian send the following message to the slayer, or, if he is dead, to his sons: 'You (or your father) killed our father while we were still children. It is our duty to avenge his blood and to take your life in retaliation. But if you promise to pay such and such a price--a rifle, an axe, a good hound, etc. --we will regard the blood-guilt as atoned for and pardon you.' If the Indian thus threatened agrees with this, the matter is definitely settled. The Jibaros do not find anything repugnant in thus estimating the life of a parent in material equivalents, and an agreement like this is especially possible in cases where the crime to be punished has been committed very long ago. In cases of murder recently committed the indignation of the offended family is generally so great that any material compensation is out of the question, and an atonement in blood is required."

1: Karsten--292 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 775, 769 (1928-29)

"The lance, a terrible weapon of the Jibaros, inspires not only living men but even the spirits and demons with fear. The soul of an Indian killed with the lance in terror flees far away from the mutilated body and does not remain for some time in the neighbourhood, as is believed to be the case at ordinary death. The relatives themselves stand in such horror of the dead body that they only hurriedly bury it on the same spot where they find it, thereafter speedily leaving the place. The devoted cult which the Jibaros generally pay to their dead relatives is entirely lacking in regard to those killed in war, and food is never put on their graves."

1: Karsten--372-373 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 775 (1928-29)

"As to the worship paid to the Earth-mother and her consort there is hardly anything to add to what I have stated before. But besides these, the religious ideas and practices of the Jibaros have reference to supernatural beings of a lower order, to souls, spirits and demons of which there are many different classes. The Indians have two words for denoting a spirit or demon: wakáni and iguánchi. The word wakáni may be translated into 'soul' or 'shadow'. Human souls disembodied temporarily, for instance in dreams, or permanently in death, are called wakáni, as is also the shadow reflected in water or on the ground, or in a mirror. Any image or likeness of a man--for instance a photograph--is called his wakáni or soul, but the Indians apply this name especially to the spiritual part of man separated from his body at death. There is a certain difference between the wakáni of a dead man and for instance the 'shadow' of a living person, which will be explained later on. That the Jibaros, when I first met them, strongly objected to being photographed has been mentioned by me before; they believed that with my camera I 'took their souls' (wakáni), of which the consequence might be disease and death, or at any rate undue mysterious influence over the person photographed. The word wakáni however is also used in a more comprehensive sense, to signify a supernatural being in general. There are wakáni or souls not only in men, but also in animals, in plants, in heavenly bodies, and in other objects of nature. The whole air swarms with these spiritual beings appearing in different shapes, especially as animals,

but as a rule they can be seen only by those intoxicated by natéma or other intoxicating drinks. There appears to be no essential difference between the human souls and souls inhabiting animals, plants, and inanimate objects; the latter too seem to be conceived simply as disembodied human souls. Or more strictly speaking, the Jibaros know only one chief kind of spirit or soul which inhabit men, animals, and inanimate objects of nature, or lead an entirely independent existence as evil demons, and which may occasionally exchange one form of existence for another. The Jibaros thus, like most other South American Indians, are familiar with the idea of the transmigration and reincarnation of souls, but this doctrine is not worked into a regular system of thought and is still less associated with moral ideas of any kind. [373]

Although all wakáni--especially the wakáni of dead persons--awaken uncanny feelings in the Indians and are therefore always more or less feared, yet some of them are believed to be more evil-disposed to mankind than the rest. The most evil and most powerful of the spirits are called iguánchi. All iguánchi are wakáni, but all wakáni are not necessarily iguánchi. The souls of persons who have been particularly feared in life, especially the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers, are believed to be changed into iguánchi after death. The souls of enemies killed in war also figure among this dangerous class of demons. The iguánchi however appear in many different shapes. Sometimes they appear in shadowy human-like forms, or as living Indians wearing

beautiful feather ornaments and painted red in the face. Mostly, however the demons assume the shape of different animal beings, of quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, and even insects. 'Animal worship' among the Jibaros, if we may speak of such a thing, seems to refer in most cases to human souls reincarnated in animals. Generally these are the souls of medicine-men and sorcerers who temporarily take the shape of different animal beings in order to harm or kill other people. --In no case are animals regarded as totems, either of individuals or of groups; totemism is a religious or social system which is entirely unknown to the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians."

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-1
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

"Theoretically all animals, as also the plants, have a soul just as men have. But the role which the animals play in the religion of the Indians depends wholly on the importance they have in their practical life. Animals which distinguish themselves by their strength and ferocity, their peculiar appearance or habits of life, or their harmful effects, of course first become the objects of superstitious beliefs. Below I shall account for the most important spirits and demons of the Jibaros, beginning with those appearing in animal shape.

Some of the most formidable iguánchi appear in the shape of certain hairy animals of the wood, chiefly the black monkey (washi), the bear (cheiva), and the deer (hápa). The ordinary black monkey (Ateles niger) is much appreciated by the Indians both because of its flesh which is eaten, its fur, and its teeth, and is therefore much hunted. The animal which they fear as a demon, however is not exactly identical with the 'natural' black monkey. The washi iguánchi is in fact a purely mythical being; it is much bigger than the real black monkey, it does not climb the trees but walks on the ground on two legs like a human being, and is said to move about on the paths of the forest especially at night. [374] To meet this demon means for the Indian almost certain death. The iguánchi seizes him and kills him or takes him away to his mysterious dwellings. Dead men and the souls of enemies killed in battle mostly appear in this shape.

Exactly the same may be said of the bear demon (cheiva iguánchi). The south

American bear (Ursus albifrons) is comparatively small and is not particularly feared by the natives. Like the demoniacal black monkey, the bear demon is a mythical being which is much bigger and far more formidable than the 'natural' animal. The Indians therefore fear extremely to meet it in the darkness, believing that then they will die. Only when met in the dream produced by the narcotic drinks is it, like other iguánchi, supposed to be harmless and even friendly to man.

On the other hand, the timid and innocent deer is feared and always looked upon as a most formidable iguanchi. We here meet with a curious superstition which the Jibaros seem to share with nearly all primitive Indian tribes in south America. The Jibaros never eat the flesh of the deer, believing that if they do they will certainly die, and if they kill the animal, it is only to sell its flesh to the whites. The souls of people particularly feared in life take the shape of the deer after death, but there seems to be the belief that the souls of women also prefer to reincarnate themselves in this animal. The latter idea is naturally due to the timidity of the deer, just as its soundless movements and the mysterious rapidity with which it disappears in the forest easily suggest to the primitive Indian mind the idea of a ghost.

Much the same belief is held of the tapir (pamá), which is likewise looked upon as an iguánchi although it is not feared to the same extent as the deer. The Jibaros therefore avoid the flesh of the tapir nearly as carefully as that of the deer. With its pointed

snout and the whistling sound which it produces the animal is supposed to be able to bewitch people: the soul of a sorcerer may have temporarily taken up his abode in it. A similar superstition relating to the tapir is known to prevail among some other South American tribes.

Naturally among the iguánchi or demons the largest and most dangerous carnivorous animals of South America also figure, i.e. the jaguar and the smaller species of the feline family. Among this class of demoniacal animals the following are mentioned: the soacha or great black jaguar, the largest of all felidae in South America; further, the shia-shia, yambinga, yawára, different kinds of the spotted jaguar; the hapayawára, i.e. the puma or South American lion; and lastly the amicha, yantána, [375] and unduchama, different kinds of small tiger cats. All these beasts are particularly feared because it is believed that the souls of the medicine-men reincarnate themselves in them in order to kill their enemies. Even in his lifetime a sorcerer is supposed to be able occasionally to transform himself into a jaguar in order to bewitch people. If a jaguar attacks and kills an Indian, or if he only takes one of his swine or dogs, it is inmediately [sic] clear to the rest that an enemy sorcerer has been operating, who took the form of the wild beast in order to carry out his evil designs. Likewise, medicine-men in the form of jaguars or tiger cats are believed to send disease. Hence, when a medicine-man is curing a patient, among different demoniacal animals who may be supposed to have sent the evil, he also mentions the jaguar and the tiger cats. On the other

hand, these beasts also figure among the animal demons who appear to the Indians in the dreams induced by maikoa or natéma and who are called arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The jaguar demons who appear to the Indian in the narcotic sleep are considered by them as dead ancestors. I shall have occasion to mention these again as well as other arútama in connection with the narcotic drinks.

Other animals which at least occasionally appear as iguánchi or demons are the great otter (wangánimi), the nose-bear (Nasua rufa, called kúshi by the Jibaros), the ant-bear (wishvishi), and the paca (Coelogenys paca, called káshai). The first mentioned, the great otter, even figures among the arútama, 'the Old Ones'. The nose-bear and the ant-bear are supposed to be able to bewitch people with their long and pointed snout. The former is also regarded with superstition because of its disagreable smell, and its flesh is therefore not eaten. The otter and the paca again bewitch people with their long whiskers. The whiskers of these animals are used by the sorcerers for the same purpose.

Among water demons there is also the dolphin, called bufeo in Spanish and apúpa in the Jibaro language, an animal quite common in the Amazonian rivers. This animal is in the habit of following the canoes passing on the rivers, frequently emerging from the surface of the water to take breath. The Indians believe that it may bewitch people, since it produces the same sound as the sorcerers when, blowing and whistling, they

send off their magic arrow against their enemies. The apúpa, which in reality is a perfectly harmless animal, is therefore feared by the Jibaros as a dangerous wishinyu or sorcerer.

Much more feared, however, is another water monster living in the Amazonian rivers and lagoons, namely, the great water boa or anaconda [376] (Eunectes murinus). The Jibaros call it pangi, sometimes also in their magical incantations using the Quichua name amárun. The anaconda is in fact the worst of all the demons that people the spiritual world of the Indians. The Jibaros only share a belief in regard to this monster which seems to be common to all Indians in tropical South America. The great boa is the father of witchcraft, it is from his body that the medicine-men get the poison with which they themselves are impregnated and the magical arrow (tunchi) which they let off against people whom they want to harm. Both after death and in their lifetime the souls of the medicine-men are supposed to be able to transmigrate into the anaconda, and when the Indians kill such a monster they say that it is an evil wizard that they have killed. The largest specimens of the anaconda the Jibaros do not even touch with their hands after having killed them, for fear of the evil effects arising from coming in contact with the demon, but the skin of the smaller boas is often made into broad cinctures to which great magical power is ascribed. Since the anaconda is looked upon as the father of witchcraft, it is natural that it should also be regarded as the author of all

diseases attributed to sorcery. Hence the pangi together with his 'brother', the tsungi, is regularly mentioned in the magical conjurations by which the medicine-men try to cure disease.

As to the latter demon, the tsungi, I have not been able to ascertain whether it is only a mythical water monster or a real living animal. The tsungi is described as a woman-like being with long hair and large breasts, living in caves in water-pools and lagoons just as does his 'brother' the pangi. As authors of witchcraft both demons have the same importance, and the tsungi figures side by side with the pangi in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Not only the great boa serpent but also other kinds of reptiles play an important part in the religion of the Jibaros. Thus the great caiman or crocodile (kanyátsa), which attacks people swimming in the rivers, is an iguánchi and even is reckoned among the arútama. Far more feared, however, are the demons which appear in the shape of venomous snakes. About such reptiles all Ecuadorian Indians seem to have the same idea: with the sting of the poisonous snake an evil spirit enters the body of the patient. But the Jibaros go still further in their theory: the wakáni or iguánchi which entered the person stung and caused his death was in fact nothing but the demoniacal soul of a sorcerer who had taken the shape of the reptile in order to kill his enemy.

The Indians make a distinction between 'natural' and 'supernatural' [377] or

demoniacal snakes, the latter being snakes in which the soul of a sorcerer has temporarily taken up its abode. The Jibaros call such a snake tunchima, i.e. 'bewitched'. If a non-poisonous snake bites, or if the bite of a venomous snake did not cause the person bitten any particular harm, this was only a 'natural' snake-bite. If, on the other hand, the person died in consequence of it, the snake was tunchima. Persons bitten by 'bewitched' snakes, therefore, generally die or can only be cured by the magic art of other sorcerers. How the medicine-men proceed when curing such patients we shall see later on.

Few phenomena of the animal world have impressed the primitive Indian mind so strongly as the venomous snakes. By their peculiar appearance, their soundless movements, and especially by their mysterious death-bringing sting they are, in fact, most likely to give rise to superstitious beliefs. Thus the venomous reptiles seem to have suggested to the Indian sorcerers the ideas upon which their magic art is based. Moreover, as pointed out before, the arrow-poison is probably originally nothing but an imitation of the snakes' poison, the same superstitious ideas being connected with the one as with the other.

The spirits and demons also frequently appear in the shape of birds. The ideas held of certain birds are exactly the same as those held of certain animals and reptiles. Generally the demoniacal birds are associated with the medicine-men and sorcerers

who use them as their agents in order to carry out their evil designs against other people. Like a jaguar or a snake, a bird may be tunchima or 'bewitched'. This means that a sorcerer has hidden his own soul or his death-bringing magic arrow (tunchi) into the bird with a view to shooting it off at the person he wants to harm. The spirits or souls of dead persons, both men and women, may also reincarnate themselves in birds, which are then looked upon as 'magical'.

In regard to the birds of which such superstitious beliefs are held, it is to be noted that all of them are distinguished by some peculiarity in their appearance or habits of life, or by their sounds. All individuals of a species are not necessarily iguánchi but they may occasionally appear as such. There are 'natural' and 'supernatural' birds, just as there are 'natural' and 'supernatural' snakes and jaguars. Thus the largest birds of prey of South America, the condor (yápu), the great eagle or harpy (unta pinchu), the hawk (pinchu), and the owl (ambúsha), are often looked upon as evil demons, especially if they attack men or domestic animals or appear under unusual circumstances. The owl, [378] being a nocturnal bird, is regarded by all Indians as a messenger from the spirit world. The Jibaros believe that the souls of dead women are particularly incarnated in the owl. Other demoniacal birds are the black vulture (chuánga), the tucan (tsukánga), the great macaw or arara parrot, both the red one (takúmbi) and the

yellow one (yambúna), with a common name called yusa, as well as the ordinary green parrot (kávashu). All these birds, together with the pelican (kauá) and the cock-of-the-rock (Rupicola crocea, called sumga by the Jibaros) are also mentioned among the arútama and appear to the Indians in narcotic sleep. Feared as bearers of the magic arrow are also the mango (chui), the umbrella-bird (Cephalopterus ornatus, called ungúmi in the Jibaro language) and most nocturnal birds. Among the latter, in addition to the owl, two deserve to be especially mentioned: the kuikui, a small bird which moves about whistling at night, bewitching people, and the uichúchu, another small bird with a long tail and almost green in colour, which leaves its resting-place upon the rocks at night and approaches the habitations of men, producing the cry from which it takes its name. The Indians say that the uichúchu, when sent by a sorcerer, carries the magic arrow far away to other places, bringing disease and death to the people there. The small nocturnal bird is therefore greatly feared and is often mentioned in the conjurations of the medicine-men.

Various smaller animals, fish, and insects play a part in the superstition of the Jibaros because of the spines, prickles, or stings with which their body is provided by nature. The medicine-men and sorcerers, in their magic art, often make use of similar spines or stings. Such animals are for instance the hedgehog (kúru) and a sort of armadillo which the Jibaros call tuicha. I shall mention some instances illustrating the

1: Karsten--373-378 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro-10
116, 825, 775 (1928-29)

Indian belief as to fish and insects when dealing with the medicine-men. Here I shall only add that the butterfly (wambishku) is looked upon by the Jibaros as a wakáni or soul, a belief which is also found among other South American tribes."

to make it more or less resemble the snake. For paint they use crude roucou (Bixa orellana), taken direct from the tree. A string is fastened to the painted stick, whereupon a man draws it from the patient a short distance into the [422] wood. There the stick is broken into pieces and thrown away. By this procedure the Indians believe they kill the soul of the snake, and consequently the patient will recover."

1: Karsten--501 (1916-18) 1935 Jivaro
116, 151, 775, 825 (1928-29)

"The Indian is a born romanticist, but the nature symbolism characteristic of the romantic view has for him a much more real import than for a civilized poet. All nature, not only animals, but also trees and plants, nay, even inanimate matter, reflect in his mind human life, human thoughts and feelings, not merely analogically, however, but simply because human souls are believed to inhabit these natural objects or to have temporarily taken up their abode in them. Very frequently the spirits of special ancestors or relatives, known by name, are recognized in this or that rock or hill, in this or that lake or spring, in definite quadrupeds and birds. Intimately connected with this view is the 'sacredness' ascribed to domestic animals. I have seen Indian women lament over dead dogs quite as if they had been beloved relatives, and neither these nor the animals and birds of the wood which are commonly tamed by the Indians are ever killed, however old and decrepit they may become. In the same sense, that is, as the seats of human souls, the cultivated edible plants are held sacred and, as we have seen, are addressed in prayers and incantations just as if they had personality. In one word, the idea that all nature is animate, which has inspired even philosophic thinkers among civilized peoples, thoroughly dominates the primitive religious philosophy of the Indians. We already know this primitive philosophy from the chapters on religion, but it is interesting to note that it also underlies their primitive lyric poetry, which in fact could not be understood without taking it into consideration."

2: Stirling--114 (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775, 765

"The Jivaros believe that after death they are reborn in various forms of animal life. A warlike curaka becomes a jaguar when he dies and goes to live in the forest near enemy tribes in order that he may continue his vengeance toward them. The explanation of the 2-year period during which the corpse is fed and tended is that it requires 2 years for a jaguar to develop to the point where he can competently shift for himself. When this time has expired the bones are taken down and buried."

2: Stirling--114 [5] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 775

"When Anguasha was asked if he expected to become a jaguar he said no, that he hoped to be a chicken hawk, because he was very fond of eating chickens and birds."

8: Dickey--201 [4] (1936) 1936 Jivaro
116, 727, 775

"Why do the Jivaros shrink human heads?

Believers in metempsychosis, they are of the opinion that a warrior--and all the intrepid explorers to the contrary notwithstanding, none but the heads of warriors captured in battle ever are shrunken--if allowed to go to the spirit world with his head, comes back to earth with the head of a jaguar. If he goes without a head, the puzzled spirits, who of course have to send him back in some form, give him a head of a rodent or some other harmless animal. As a jaguar he is a menace; as a rat he's harmless. All beautifully logical."

13: Rivet--240-241 (no date) 1908 Jívaro
116, 775

The savages believe in another life. The veneration [241] accorded to their dead, is the evident proof of it; this second existence differs in no way from the one they lead on earth; they have the same physical needs, the same material necessities and the same pleasures. That is why the relatives bury the body of the dead with food, various liquids, and his weapons. It is probable that the hermetic sealing of the doors of the house where the dead is left is as much for the purpose of guaranteeing the relatives against a possible return of the deceased as assuring rest to the departed. Certain tribes at least believe in transmigration: if the deceased was a brave warrior, he returns in the form of an animal which personifies bravery; but if he was a coward, he assumes the appearance of a snake, a spider, a toad, or some other repugnant animal (1).

1. Prieto. Descripcion de la provincia de los Jívaros, op. cit., in Compte, op. cit. V. II, page 63.

20: Dyott--171-172 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 825, 868.

"The Jivaros don't consider men to be glorified animals, but rather the reverse. All the animals, in their eyes, are degenerate human beings. Years ago, they say, all the inhabitants of the world were Shuaros, and gradually certain ones developed characteristics which we now associate with birds, animals, or fish. This consciousness of their relationship to the animal world is still very strong amongst them, so much so in the case of the sloth that he is not only attacked with the same ferocity they would summon against a human enemy, but they likewise preserve his head in a [172] shrunken state, as if it were that of some hostile tribesman.

Katani listened enthralled to every word of this Indian wisdom. In a few year's time he would be considered a man, for he would have taken part in the feast of Kusupani and drunk Miqua prepared from the bark of the beautiful flowering shrub (Datura arborea) which is administered with much ceremony whenever a boy reaches man's estate. It is a narcotic drink that is supposed to make men out of them, but in reality turns them into raving lunatics for a day or two. During this time, they see visions and talk with the great spirits who will aid them in their fight against future enemies."

20: Dyott--185-186 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 562, 775

"Why do women dig yuca and the men fell trees? were questions Johnston asked me. He laboured under the common misapprehension that the women were slaves, and did the hardest work; but I had to explain otherwise. The Jivaros carry their sense of the personal, not only to animals, but also to trees and inanimate objects. In their eyes all things are animated by human spirits, male or female. The yuca has a female soul, hence it is proper for the women to cultivate it. Clay is feminine, therefore women must fashion the simple pottery which they use. Women must also handle the vessels when it comes to cooking. Most trees are men, hence men must chop them down. Cotton is of the male gender, so men must spin thread and make their own 'itipis' and also the 'tarachi,' or garments worn by the women. It is the sex distinction which is all important. Man and woman's work is as distinct as night from day, and the duties of one never overlap those of the other. There is not even a question of comparison between the two. A man is a man, and a woman a woman. That is their final argument."

20: Dyott--190 (no date) 1926 Jivaro
116, 775, 826

"So strong is the faith of the Jivaros, like that of many primitive races, in the supernatural properties of the hair of the head, that they make cinctures of that material; but hair on the face is regarded in quite a different light. It is a sure indication that you are related to the animals of the jungle. My flowing whiskers were not admired, and if the truth were known, speculations were rife as to what particular animal I was related to. The wholesale removal of hair from the human body is practised by the Indians, and with the exception of the scalp, its growth is never encouraged."

28: Tessman--356-357
116, 775, 756

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

The soul is called wakaní. At the moment of death the soul leaves the body and goes to heaven, where it leads a better life (has plenty to eat, etc.) in the company of other souls. [357]

The souls of sorcerers enter animals, plants or some natural object, thereby becoming demons. This is at least the belief of the Makas Indians. According to Karsten (The Religion etc., p. 125) this is also believed of the souls of enemies that have been killed, evidently to the extent to which these enemies had been regarded as sorcerers. The souls are then called iguanchi, but at the same time still being regarded as wakaní. From Karsten's treatise I was not able to learn to what extent the thought prevails that the spirits in question are the souls of deceased sorcerers and to what extent these spirits have already a truly demoniac character: demons are always undetermined spirits, perhaps the souls of deceased persons. Wakani, according to Karsten, also means "shadow, image" and finally "higher being."

28: Tessman--360 [3] (No date) 1930 Jivaro
116, 775, 787

The Chiwaros are filled with all sorts of undigested superstitious beliefs. They have many religious particles, which they presumably receive from the high cultures of the Andes, but they have not been able to incorporate these scraps into the framework of their own religion. One such particle, for instance, is the belief that a chieftain is going to die when the sun goes down red.

They also believe that the Chiwaros formerly had been animals, the Aguarunas, for instance, crested orioles. See Karsten, La lengua de los Indios, p. 54. The same source also for folk-tales.

32:Harner E-5 (1956-1957) 1962 SD9 Jivaro SD9

This soul-stealing or capturing process

involves drinking large quantities of an infusion of *wairuN* (*Banisteria* sp.), beating a log signal drum, and repeating the name of the intended victim. Then if the enemy's arutam soul is wandering nocturnally, it may one night hear the would-be assassin's call and, "taking pity" on his need for such a soul, enter his body, never to return to the body of its former possessor.[9]

The Jivaro warrior desires to have personally—and thus definitely—stolen the arutam of his intended victim. This feat is often not possible, however, and the would-be murderer instead watches for signs coming to him through gossip or direct observation that the enemy already has had his arutam soul taken away by someone else. Such signs or indications, for example, would include rumors of physical weakness or illness on the part of the intended victim, or the firsthand observation that the enemy was lacking in forcefulness of speech.[10] In any case, an attack is made only if the raiders believe that the potential victim has lost his arutam soul. If they should fail to kill him, it is because the enemy still retains the soul or had a second one in reserve.

It should be noted that the personal security which the Jivaro believe comes from killing has some social reality. A man who has killed repeatedly, called *kakaram* or "powerful one," is rarely attacked because his enemies feel that the protection provided him by his constantly replaced souls would make any assassination attempt against him fruitless.

Second arutam souls can be acquired in several ways. One method is to capture the arutam soul of an enemy by beating a log signal drum as previously noted. Another common technique is to walk alone through the forest night after night, without the usual illumination of a copal torch, in the hope of encountering an arutam in the darkness.

Shamans always possess arutam souls. Those specializing in bewitching try to steal their intended victim's arutam soul before attempting to kill him through witchcraft. If the intended victim is believed to have two arutam souls, the shaman asks a shaman "friend" or partner to steal the second one for him, since no one can possess more than two such souls simultaneously. A shaman, incidentally, does not lose his arutam soul when he kills by means of sorcery.

The arutam soul must leave a man before he dies, since he cannot die while he retains one (except in the case of contagious disease, in which case retention of the power of two is necessary for certain survival). Thus, at death, he does not have any of the arutam souls left which temporarily dwelt in his body while he was alive. Then, at the moment of death, his own arutam souls come into existence for the first time. The exact number of these completely new, freshly "born" souls equals the quantity which the deceased person had acquired during his lifetime. Thus, if he had acquired and subsequently lost five arutam souls, then at the moment of death he forms five new arutam souls. The formation of these souls is said to generate strong winds, thunder, and lightning in the locality. The newly-created arutam souls of the dead man will live eternally, drifting as breezes and temporarily entering into the bodies of

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future generations of Jivaro. At the same moment that these arutam souls are "born," the second type of Jivaro soul comes into existence if the deceased person was murdered.

THE MUISAK[9]

The second kind of soul, the muisak or avenging soul, is closely connected with the arutam soul. Only a person who has had an arutam soul is capable of forming a muisak. Furthermore, a muisak comes into existence only when a person who has seen an arutam is killed, whether by natural or supernatural means. At the time of death of such a person his avenging soul is created and leaves his corpse through its mouth.[10] If one simply dies of contagious disease or of old age (the latter believed to be a rare occurrence), no muisak is created.

The sole reason for being of a person's muisak is to avenge his death. This soul therefore attempts to kill the murderer, or if this is not possible (due to the murderer having an arutam soul), a son or wife of the murderer. The muisak is occasionally distracted from this objective, out of jealousy, to kill instead a new spouse of his widow. Because of this latter danger, young men who have not yet acquired much arutam power tend to avoid marrying widows.

Technically, the avenging soul is only called a muisak while it is in the corpse, subsequently in the shrunken head trophy (tsantsa), or its immediate vicinity. When the human head trophy is not taken and prepared, the muisak is able to travel as far as it likes from the corpse and to form into one of three types of *iwanch* or demons. These three demons are forms of the natural non-human world that can kill a man. One is a particularly dangerous poisonous snake (*mukan'ch*). Another is the water boa constrictor or anaconda (*pupi*) which can knock over the raft or canoe of the murderer and thereby cause him to drown in the rapid waters of one of the numerous fast-flowing rivers and streams of this hilly country. The third form is a large tree in the forest which falls on the victim and crushes him. These are the three traditional forms of death in Jivaro society which might be called "accidental" in other cultures. Since the introduction of the steel bush knife or machete and of firearms, a belief has been growing that a muisak can enter into these items to cause an "accidental" fatal wound. The Jivaro view slight self-inflicted wounds as true accidents, but grave or fatal self-inflicted wounds are always believed to be the results, respectively, of murder attempts or murders through supernatural mechanisms.

Before the avenging spirit or *iwanch* kills the murderer, it sometimes appears to him in the form of a man or a jaguar while he is sleeping. The sleeper tries to seize his firearm or lance (which he keeps on the bed beside him at night) to kill the apparition. Failure to do so will result in the demon eventually succeeding in killing the person. Sometimes this *iwanch* fails in its assassination attempt, only wounding or injuring the intended victim. In such cases, the victim becomes a permanent invalid.

When the demon has performed its act of vengeance, it then appears in

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soul, the muisak emits power, but it is believed that the muisak's power is directly transmissible to other persons. The man who took the head holds the tsantsa aloft in the ritual dance while two female relatives whom he wants to benefit, most frequently a wife and sister, hold on to him. In this manner the power of the muisak is believed to be transmitted to the women who, ordinarily, lack power-giving arutam souls. This power, transmitted from the muisak to the women through the "filtering" mechanism of the head-taker, is believed to make it possible for them to work harder and to be more successful in crop production and in the raising of domesticated animals, both of which being primarily the responsibilities of women in Jivaro society.

Tsantsa feasts are also held using the shrunken head of a tree sloth. The tree sloth is the only nonhuman creature thought to be capable of forming a muisak. Because the tree sloth moves so slowly, it is said to be very aged and therefore must once have acquired an arutam soul to have lived so long. At the same time, since the sloth moves so slowly, it is further believed to have lost its former arutam soul(s) and therefore can be killed. The hunting and ritual precautions are basically the same as in the case of a human tsantsa but generally somewhat less extensive.

THE TRUE SOUL

The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the nekás wakanl, is born at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every living Jivaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jivaro in terms of their total native belief system.

When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.[9]

One significant difference should be noted between this hereafter of the true soul and the real life of its former possessor: these souls are always hungry. Although they engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living persons. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

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One can often see dead souls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned gardens and house sites.[1] The Jivaro interpret the presence of such creatures as these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsaa iwanch*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact which the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

When a true soul has thus repeated the entire life history of its deceased owner, it ceases its existence as a "human demon" and changes into a "true demon." As a true demon, its form is permanently visible and more or less human, although a good deal uglier. The true demon roams the forest hungry, solitary, and lonely, feeling greatly the loss of the company of its former family. When Jivaro children wander into the forest and are not found immediately, it is said that a true demon carried off the child because it was so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jivaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *wampag*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *wampag* are believed to be souls and are said always to be hungry, as in the case with any of the forms which the true soul takes. When a *wampag* flies into a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of sweet manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jivaro believe that since the *wampag* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jivaro are uncertain, the *wampag* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm and dies on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

Of the three kinds of souls in which the Jivaro believe, they seem to be most interested in the "true" one, the *nekás nekámi*, which does little to help the individual survive in his insecure society. It is the *arutam* soul (*nekámi*) which seems to rank first in the Jivaro mind. The *arutam* soul possesses believers himself to be unkillable, thereby gaining a greatly desired sense of security in a social context of continual physical violence and interpersonal anxiety, both real and imagined. Paradoxically, the *arutam* soul concept also endorses assassination as a necessary form of behavior in the society.

g English *ng* in *sing* (followed by a hard *g* sound when not the terminal phoneme)
p Spanish *p* (voiced like English *b* when following a nasal consonant, whistled when preceding *r*, palatized when following *t* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
r Spanish *r*
s Spanish *s*
t English *th*
ts English *ts* in *cats*
v Spanish *v* (voiced like Spanish *b* when following a nasal consonant, palatized when following *r* or *l* plus a nasal consonant)
w English *w* (but voiced like English *v* when adjacent to *h*)
y Spanish *y*

Unmarked vowels restricted to ultimate syllables are capitalized. Stress is on the penultimate syllable unless otherwise noted. A tilde indicates nasalization.

* A more detailed presentation is intended for inclusion in a future monograph.

* The fieldwork was sponsored primarily by the Henry L. and Grace Doherty Foundation, with supplementary grants provided by the Department of Anthropology and the Museum of Anthropology of the University of California, Berkeley, by the American Museum of Natural History, and by the American Anthropological Association (NSF contract grant). John H. Rowe of the University of California contributed greatly to the undertaking of the fieldwork through his encouragement and advice.

* I wish to acknowledge my debt to these two previous field-whom. Their material provided innumerable leads for investigation and made my own research much more productive than it otherwise would have been.

* Jivaroan may also be pronounced *aruken*, since the final vowel and consonant are interchangeable, as is the case with many Jivaro words. See Tanner (1956) for a discussion of this and some other linguistic aspects of Jivaro.

* Jivaro faith in the existence of *arutam* souls is so strong that all persons interviewed on the subject, even adolescents raised in mission boarding schools in the Río Upano valley, expressed a complete conviction in their reality.

* One of the members of the party may drink an infusion of *ayahuasca* (*Banisteriopsis caapi*) instead of tobacco water. Usually this is a person who has never seen *arutam* and therefore takes the drug to increase his chances of success. The other members of the group abstain from *ayahuasca* in order to be able to overcome and protect the different person under its influence.

* One exception is the football *arutam* which only considers adults when touched.

* Persons who have seen *arutam* can be surprisingly well singled out by this trait alone.

* There is also a rare super *arutam*, *aents*, whose soul is not so easily satisfied and does not leave the body of its possessor when such declarations are made.

* The *arutam* soul resident in the body of a person is not his own soul in any permanent sense, but only the soul of some ancestral Jivaro dwelling there temporarily.

* Visitors to the Jivaro are usually impressed by the ease showing which typifies conversations between Jivaro of different households and neighborhoods. The functional basis for this custom can be seen in the desire of the individual to maintain his *arutam* power by being forceful in speech and gesture.

* Blowgun may be alternatively pronounced *wambi*.

* When a man does not cut off the head of a person he has murdered (i.e., when the victim belongs to his own tribe), he turns the corpse face down on the ground so that the slain's *wakani* is forced to go emerging through the mouth. Then the murderer hopes to reach home before the re-emerging soul can reach him.

* A rather astonishing amount of misinformation has been published regarding the fetishes surrounding the trophy. I wish to re-emphasize that any contradictions between the information presented here and previous accounts indicate rejection of that material.

* The Jivaro practice shifting cultivation and move their house sites along with their gardens.

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[17] Possibly this is due to the fact that the old clearings provide feeding grounds for these animals.

[18] Thanks are particularly due to Mildred Larson and David Beasley of the Summer Institute of Linguistics for providing information regarding the Aguaruna and Huambisa beliefs, respectively. I briefly interviewed several Huambisa and Aguaruna men on these points at the Institute's base in Yarinacocha, eastern Peru, in January 1961, and questioned an Achuara informant on the same subject in 1957 near the Río Cangaime, eastern Ecuador.

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796 same function. Normally, however, the tree sloth trophy is
825 made and used by teen-age boys for their first *tsentsa* feasts,
[881] which are only two in number and hosted by their fathers or other close older male relatives.

The True Soul

774 The "true" or "ordinary" soul, the *nekás wakani*, is born
at the same moment as the person and is possessed by every
[826] living Jívaro, male or female. The true soul is present in the living individual primarily in the form of one's blood. Bleeding is therefore viewed as a process of soul-loss. This soul is passive during a person's real life and apparently is of relatively little interest to the Jívaro in terms of their total native belief systems.

775 When a person dies, this true soul leaves his body and, in invisible form, eventually returns to the site of the house where the deceased individual was born. There the soul lives in a spirit house identical to the one in which the deceased was born, except for the fact that the spirit house is invisible to the living. The true souls of other deceased members of the family are likewise dwelling in this house. Similarly, the true souls of former neighbors return to their original house sites as well. It is believed that the true souls conduct their household activities and visit each other just as they did when their possessors were alive. As the years pass, these souls move from house site to house site in the same order, and over the same span of time as they did when incorporated in living individuals.

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engage in subsistence activities and eat what appears to be food to them, it never satisfies them, because it is really just air. The "animals" which these souls hunt in the forest are only the souls of the birds, fish, and mammals which they killed in their former lives. Such an existence of perpetual hunger is the fate of the true souls of all persons, without regard to the kind of life they led while in living individuals. Needless to say, the true soul's fate of persistent starvation is dreaded by the Jivaro.

One can often see deer and owls lingering in the vicinity of abandoned garden and house sites.[18] The Jivaro interpret the presence of such creatures at these old living places as evidence that the animals are temporarily visible embodiments of true souls. The true souls, when they are in these visible forms, are referred to as "human demons" (*tsuar iruamti*). There is a moderate fear of them, particularly by women, and the Jivaro taboo on the eating of deer meat is based on the fear that eating such an animal might result in a deceased person's soul entering the body of the living person, with the result that he may subsequently die. These "human demon" animals are often seen in pairs, a fact the Jivaro interpret as indicating that the two creatures are temporarily visible forms of the souls of a man and his wife.

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so lonely for human companionship. Although it may take the Jivaro two or three days to find the lost child, they almost always succeed, and therefore say that the true demon never harms children, but only wants to play with them.

Then the true demon, after existing for a span of years equivalent to a human lifetime, dies and changes into a certain species of giant butterfly or moth called *tsunpes*. This creature has markings on its wings which lend it the appearance of an owl's face. All the *tsunpes* are believed to be souls and are said to be always hungry, as is the case with any of the forms that the true soul takes. When a *tsunpes* flies inside a house, one of the persons there tosses a small piece of manioc or a few drops of manioc beer in its direction. The Jivaro believe that since the *tsunpes* might be the soul of a dead relative or friend it would be wrong to neglect its hunger. They do not fear the creature, however.

After a length of time about which the Jivaro are uncertain, the *tsunpes* finally has its wings damaged by raindrops as it flutters through a rainstorm, and falls to die on the ground. The true soul then changes into water vapor amidst the falling rain. All fog and clouds are believed to be the last form taken by true souls. The true soul undergoes no more transformations and persists eternally in the form of mist.

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Rights, Offenses, and Sanctions

It is considered wrong to kill or injure other persons within the tribe unless it is to punish someone for a similar act, in which case precise equivalence in retribution is justified. Most deaths are considered to be cases of homicide, whether through actual physical violence (including poisoning), bewitching, or by avenging souls (*musiak*) of the dead. While no retaliation is attempted in the case of deaths believed to be caused by *musiak*, retaliation by assassination is definitely considered to be in order when a member of one's conjugal family is murdered through physical violence or witchcraft.

According to Jivaro norms, approved sanctions are an approximation of equivalent retaliation against the guilty party himself or a member of his immediate family, such as a brother, wife, or child. Thus the sanction against homicide is homicide. Although such sanctions are directed primarily at adult males, partially because it is not considered particularly honorable or desirable to kill women or children within the tribe, the punitive assassins may kill their intended victim's wife or child if they fail to find him at home when they make their vengeance raid. It is also considered completely proper to kill a woman or child if the act is in retaliation for the previous murder of a woman or child. Great pains are usually taken to kill only one person in retaliation for one murder. This situation of intra-tribal retaliation on a one-to-one basis should be clearly distinguished from the head-taking raids against the Achuara tribe, which involve killing as many of the "aliens" as possible.

If there is a considerable lapse of time before administering a sanction, the guilty party may, after a few years, send

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Shaman hierarchies within the neighborhood are also an important new development. This innovation, which is related to the growth in numbers of shamans competing to acquire valuables and strong shamanistic power, occurred between about 1925 and 1935. Formerly, only one shaman normally was found in each neighborhood, but with the increase in their numbers, they began to purchase their power from other shamans within their own localities, thereby bringing into existence hierarchies of shaman partners on the neighborhood level.

The inter-neighborhood hierarchies of shamans linking the Jívaro with the Canelos are likewise a new development, evolving since about 1930. According to older informants, shamanistic power formerly was not obtained from the Canelos tribe, but with the inhibition of inter-tribal warfare, Jívaro shamans began to visit the Canelos shamans, leading to the elaborate hierarchical relations which now stretch northward to the Canelos "banks." The increasing competition between Jívaro shamans, deriving from their sheer numbers and their demand for trade goods, further encouraged them to travel northward to get the maximum quality and variety of *tsentsak* available.

Shamanistic knowledge and practices have experienced considerable elaboration in recent decades. Much of this more elaborate knowledge has been learned from the Canelos tribe via the inter-tribal system of shaman hierarchies. Examples of such recently transmitted information include new types of spirit helpers and the innovation of possession by spirits of the dead. The heightened shamanistic competition has encouraged the acquisition of new techniques and knowledge.

Outside of shamanism, few changes have occurred in supernatural ideology. Some minor modifications have oc-

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curred in the case of techniques used to obtain *arutam* souls. First, a former method of encountering *arutam* has virtually disappeared. It involved walking a specially prepared straight and wide trail alone at night armed only with a wooden shield and magical staff. The disappearance of this technique is ascribed to the abandonment of wooden shields as a functional item of warfare following the adoption of firearms. Second, *Banisteriopsis*, as opposed to *Datura*, has become less commonly used to see *arutam*, a change attributed to the fact that the increasingly numerous shamans have been using up the available supply of *Banisteriopsis*. Furthermore, because of the shortage of *Banisteriopsis*, families tend to reserve the known vines (wild or cultivated) for use by shamans when they come to cure family members believed to be suffering from bewitching.

A very few individuals among the interior Jívaro are beginning to consider the possibility that the "true" or "ordinary" souls (*nekás wakani*) may go to the interior of the active volcano Sangay at a person's death, a belief transmitted from the frontier Jívaro, who learned the idea from Catholic missionaries. The latter use the volcano's name in Jívaro, Tunurá, as a synonym for Hell. This was one of the few ideological items among the interior Jívaro clearly ascribable to Western cultural influence.

A strong rise in interpersonal offenses and the application of retaliatory sanctions is reported for the past four or five decades. The increase is particularly strong in the cases of adultery and murder by means of witchcraft, physical violence, and poisoning. The increase in shamanistically induced murders is primarily attributed to the growth in numbers of shamans attempting to accumulate wealth in the form of "white man's valuables." The rise in murders or assassinations through shooting or poisoning is seen by the Jívaro